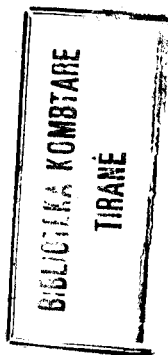


RAMIZ ALIA

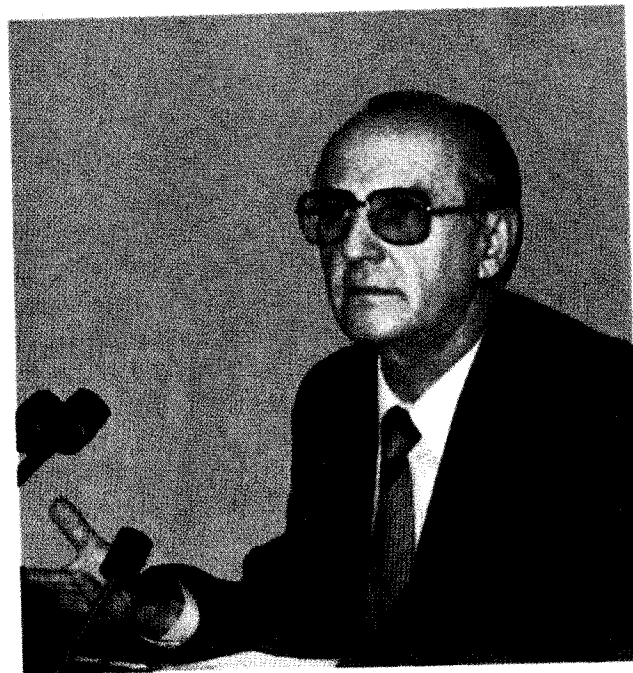
**ALWAYS
IN THE VANGUARD
OF SOCIETY,
BEARER OF PROGRESS**



*Speech at the 8th Plenum
of the CC of the PLA*

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Comrades,

In all the historical development of our country during the last half century, both in the war for national and social liberation and in the great battles for the socialist construction, the leading role of our Party of Labour has been decisive. All our victories have their basis in the Party, in its revolutionary ideology and in its correct and far-sighted leadership.

We have a strong Party tempered from every viewpoint, a Party loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the interests of the people and socialism, a Party which is characterized by the steel unity of its ranks and its militant spirit.

At the present meeting of the Central Committee we are discussing the further strengthening of the Party and its leading role. Our aim is to keep it always up to the level of the tasks of the time, always revolutionary and capable of solv-

ing the problems which emerge in the process of our advance. We must always keep in mind the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, who has pointed out that between the tasks of the social and economic development of the country and the leading role of the Party there is a direct link: the greater, the more difficult and complex the objectives of socialist construction are, the more the leading role of the communists increases and the more decisive becomes the leadership of the Party.

We consider the experience of the all-sided leading activity of the Party, the successes of its line and the honoured position which it enjoys in society as a powerful basis for new achievements, but never as something perfect. Its history and experience are a source of strength and inspiration, but, if they are not understood correctly, dialectically, and in connection with the Party's concrete historical responsibilities, they can lead to self-satisfaction and stagnation.

I am in agreement with the report which Comrade Lenka delivered. In my contribution to the discussion I wish to draw attention to some problems which have emerged at the present stage of the

socialist construction in our country or which result from current international developments and, especially, from those which have engulfed the countries of the East.

We are living in troubled times. External appearances can create the impression that the winds of peace are blowing, that the problems of mankind have been solved, that the contradictions and conflicts are being moderated and that, through a number of measures for the reduction of armaments, the danger of war is being removed. Indeed, the great powers, those most wealthy, are saying that they will loosen their purse-strings to help the poor. Never before has the demagoguery about freedom, democracy and human rights been so intensive as it is today. But the other side of the medal, that which constitutes the essence of imperialism, must not be left unexamined. The material and spiritual exploitation of the working class has become more ferocious. The surplus value, which is appropriated by the bourgeoisie, is increasing to ever greater proportions, even subjecting the development of technique and technology to this aim. Likewise, the exploitation of the undeveloped countries

by the metropolises has assumed unprecedented proportions.

Their debts, which amount to colossal sums of hundreds of billions of dollars, have been turned into modern means of enslaving peoples. If in the past the colonialists used their armies and weapons to invade and exploit countries and entire continents, now they use dollars and loans as a means to achieve the same end, to dictate their policy and to draw maximum profits. Capital no longer needs territory, it needs markets. This is quite apparent in many states of Asia, Africa and Latin America, but it is also clear in some countries of Europe such as Yugoslavia, Poland, Hungary and elsewhere.

At the same time, the danger of war and aggression has not been removed. A number of hotbeds of war have been extinguished, but still there is no peace in the Middle East and people are still being killed in Southeast Asia and Africa. Now the national questions and ethnic problems are being revived and becoming explosive in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, in the relations between Bulgaria and Turkey, or Hungary and Rumania.

For our country, the situation in the Balkans, the danger which it presents, is

especially important. It is already clear that tempers have been raised and contradictions have increased on our Peninsula, especially in recent times. Sinister forces have been revived and old conflicts are being rekindled.

As the Yugoslavs themselves admit, the situation in Yugoslavia is grave. The deep economic crisis and the political crisis have upset the balances which have kept the Yugoslav Federation on its feet. The relations between republics have become tense. The quarrels and polemics are accompanied with threats of individual republics to secede from the Federation. Serbian chauvinism is working to establish its hegemony over the whole country. Its aggressiveness is expressed openly, especially in Kosova, against the Albanians. They have been subjected to real terror: there have been more jailings, the discrimination against the intelligentsia has increased and the Albanian language and culture are being attacked on a broad front.

Recently, also, there has been increased tension in the relations between a number of countries of our Peninsula. As a consequence, we can say that the pro-

cess of Balkan collaboration, which began last year, is now facing difficult tests. Our country has been and is interested to ensure that the spirit of good neighbourliness prevails in the Balkans. This policy is constant, therefore, in the future we must increase our efforts so that the process of Balkan collaboration is not inhibited.

The revisionist betrayal, which with Gorbachov's perestroika and the current upsurge of counter-revolutionary reformism is carrying through to the end the process of the passage of Soviet society and the countries of the East completely on to capitalist rails, is increasing the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Gorbachov and his associates negate Stalin and the initial achievements of socialism, but they do not hesitate to criticize Lenin and the October Revolution, too, presenting them as the source of the present evils of the Soviet Union. They no longer speak about communism or the communist movement, about the peoples' national liberation struggle or the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. And this is logical: they are part of the counter-revolutionary forces.

It is a fact that the revolution and the peoples' war have been struck a heavy blow by the bourgeoisie and reaction. Today the opportunist tendency pervades all the ideo-political life of the world, it dominates at international conferences and meetings, and various events are judged and evaluated on the basis of this criterion. This is a reality which must be taken into account, but must not reduce the vigour of the revolution. This reality is temporary.

It is known that the revolution, like any social phenomenon, has its ups and downs, but its ebb-tide, the opportunist trend, cannot alter the laws of social development, cannot stop the process of the decay of capitalism and its general crisis, and cannot smother the revolution. The revolution advances because it is impossible for the proletariat and peoples to reconcile themselves to exploitation and oppression. The bourgeoisie and imperialism, however, cannot live without exploitation and oppression.

Our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha condemned modern revisionism and warned the communist movement of this danger when the first symptoms of it appeared. And time has shown that these

criticisms and forecasts were correct. This has been confirmed by the miserable end of Yugoslavia which was the first to set out on the course of revisionism and, with its repeated failures, was the first to show where reformism leads; it has been confirmed by the all-round crisis which has engulfed the Soviet Union, not to speak of Hungary or Poland which are not only immersed in debts and experiencing numerous economic, social and political difficulties, but after 45 years are even handing over state power to the most rabid anti-communist forces.

Now reaction is presenting the catastrophic consequences of revisionism in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, and the complete political, ideological, economic and moral degeneration of the countries where the revisionists are in power as the failure of communism. Its most prominent emissaries are speaking about «the cancelling out of the motive forces of socialism», about its «bankruptcy», about «the death of Marx», etc.

It is our duty to resolutely oppose these reactionary theses, the purpose of which is to discredit socialism and the ideology of the proletariat, and to turn the work-

ing class and the oppressed peoples away from the road of the revolution. We must emphasize what our Party long ago predicted that the source of the evils which are appearing in the Soviet Union and elsewhere is their departure from the socialist course. In those countries it is not communism and the doctrine of Karl Marx which have failed. On the contrary, denial of communism and replacement of the proletarian ideology with the bourgeois ideology have brought about moral and economic decadence and all-round disintegration.

While exposing the things that are occurring in the Soviet Union and the other Eastern countries, it is our duty to carry our criticism of revisionism further, to deepen it and enrich it with new arguments. In particular, further studies must be made into the question of what were the conditions which facilitated the work of revisionism, what economic, ideological and social factors it exploited in order to undermine socialism. It is essential that we dwell on these questions because the phenomenon of the appearance of revisionism has to do not only with the subjective factor, as it is sometimes presented: a Khrushchev, a Brezhnev, or a Gor-

bachov emerged or a leadership turned traitor, and the working class and the people were deceived!

Of course, the subjective factor has very great importance, especially when we speak of the leadership of a country. But the very fact that a leader or a leadership apparently is able, after 40 or 50 years of socialism, to reverse the process of social development, to replace a more advanced order with an outdated order, shows that, in the process of the construction of the new society and its economic and social development, something was not in order, shows that the control valves did not function well, that particular individuals or leading organs had too much power, that the role, control and participation of the masses in the management of affairs was not effective, not to say that they remained formal.

The developments in the international situation and the trend of opportunism, as a consequence of the revisionist betrayal, bring about changes in the ratio of forces; they influence the relations between states, alliances and military blocs; they upset the equilibrium established in one zone or the other. These developments

are reflected also in economic relations and elsewhere.

Our Party cannot ignore these phenomena, especially when they are going on around us and, in various forms and to different degrees, exerting influence on us, too, and on the relations of our country with others and on our struggle for socialist construction. Therefore, we must watch these processes carefully, must study them and try to envisage future developments so that we will not be taken by surprise at any time or in any direction and can work out a stand which responds to the defence of the interests of the Homeland, the defence of socialism and the cause of the struggle of the peoples and the revolution.

It is our duty to be active in the field of foreign affairs, so as to strengthen the political position of our country. We must have keen vigilance, a high political level of the masses, progressive rates of economic development, high defence capacity and skilful diplomatic activity. The Party must inspire and guide all these things.

In the 45 years of socialist life our Party has coped successfully with its historic tasks. It has emerged triumphant,

because at each stage of the revolution it has applied the teachings of Marxism-Leninism faithfully and in a creative way. That is what it did during the National Liberation War and that is how it has acted in the socialist construction. In our country the transformations in all fields, such as the socialist industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture, the policy of investments and the development of education and culture, have been carried out in a natural way, avoiding stereotypes and ready-made schemes, while taking into account the characteristics of the country, its economic and social situation and the traditions and psychology of the people. The principle of self-reliance has been the basis of our whole development.

Socialism has proved itself the order with the highest effectiveness in the history of our people. With this mode of production and living, the economic power of the country has grown, the life and the well-being of the people have changed radically, and exemplary economic and political stability has been created. Of course, we are not wallowing in plenty. But we are happy. We have no debts to anyone. Everything which we consume we secure through our own toil. We look

to the future with optimism because we have confidence in the work and strength of the people. We are proud that we are free, independent and sovereign.

The road which we have traversed has not been strewn with flowers. It will not be a broad boulevard in the future, either. We are aware also that not everything has been or is being solved to perfection. This is natural, because the socialist society which we are building is a relatively new society, which is guided by a clear strategy and lofty ideals, but the road towards these ideals is full of unknown hazards.

Our socialist construction is accompanied with difficulties and obstacles which result from the backwardness we have inherited, from the rigorous requirements of independent economic development and also from the imperialist-revisionist encirclement.

I stress the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, to which Comrade Enver has continually drawn our attention, because for a number of reasons this factor seems to be underrated. Perhaps, because of the fact that our political and economic activity abroad is increasing, that our relations and contacts with the world are

being intensified and extended, the illusion has been created in some comrades that this encirclement has been weakened. This is a mistake, and an extremely dangerous one. The Party must not allow such a psychosis to become established.

The imperialist-revisionist encirclement is permanent: it is a political, ideological, economic and military encirclement. The enemies are fighting to wipe socialism from the face of the earth, to isolate us and to force us to deviate from our course. And to this end they create difficulty after difficulty for us. We do not expect that the pressure of enemies will be diminished. It is not pleasing to world capitalism that Albania is building socialism, that it is fighting revisionist reformism, that it shows the peoples that the revolution is alive and advancing, and that reliance on the internal forces is a principle which is proving its effectiveness. Therefore, we must never forget this reality, but must counteract resolutely and consistently by strengthening the unity of the people around the Party, by accomplishing and overfulfilling the plans of economic and cultural development, by reducing the demands for import and increasing export, by strengthening our

fighting readiness and enhancing our vigilance.

In the difficulties of the socialist construction, lack of experience plays no small part. We have to understand that the numerous problems which emerge will be coped with, as it has been done hitherto, by seeking more effective ways. From this point of view it is necessary that the Party must encourage the creative spirit and the method of analysis everywhere. Each step which is taken must become a subject for discussion by the masses and cadres, the specialists and experts.

Discussion in order to find ways for the progress of the revolution on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism is not taboo. Likewise, the changes which our socialist development and the conditions created impose do not constitute a sacrilege. Let the bourgeoisie speak about the «opening up» of Albania whenever our country acts in the field of international relations and extends its contacts with the world; let them interpret according to their own taste the changes we make and the measures we take in order to strengthen the economy and culture and to improve the life of the people. This does not worry us, because Albania and our Party



of Labour are what they have been, and are advancing resolutely on the course which the Albanian people have chosen through their people's revolution. We do not make and never have made any «changes», have not «opened» or «closed» the country under the influence of anyone. Every activity of ours is dictated by our conditions and needs, and is subject only to the interests of the Albanian people and socialism.

The fundamental task for us is to carry socialism successfully forward and to close off any path which might lead to its distortion. From this the task emerges that we must advance rapidly in all our affairs, must make improvements, additions and adjustments when and where necessary, but if we take some step more quickly than the existing possibilities allow, we must not hesitate to retreat. Only in certain directions must we never move in any circumstances: we will never permit the weakening of the socialist common property, just as we will not allow the opening of the way for the return of private property and capitalist exploitation; we will never allow the weakening of the people's state power and the dictatorship of the proletariat, just as we

have never shared and never will share power with any anti-popular force; we will never relinquish or permit the weakening of the leading role of our Marxist-Leninist Party for the sake of the so-called pluralism that the bourgeoisie dishes out to us; we will never permit our national freedom, independence and sovereignty to be infringed. These questions we consider sacred. For them our Party has fought and will fight consistently; for them our people have shed their blood and sweat, and for them we have made and must be ready to make any kind of sacrifice.

Bearing in mind the situations and tasks which are mentioned above, how should the Party be, how should it work in order to lead the socialist construction successfully and give new impulses to the development of the country?

Today more qualified and more scientific work, persistence and creativeness are required from the organizations of the Party and from the communists. The Party must respond to the problems of the time in all directions, therefore, it must always be fresh in its ideals and

aspirations, a bearer of the most advanced thinking of our society.

As always, the strengthening of the links of the Party with the masses remains the main factor for coping with these tasks. The communists are a great revolutionary force, but it is the people, the masses, who play the decisive role in the socialist construction. The communists are advanced people, but without consulting the most qualified opinion of the broad working masses, workers and scientists, the country cannot embark on a new stage of development.

The Party has gained its leading position and its vanguard place in society because its policy and activity have always responded to the interests of the people. Therefore, it must keep its eyes and its mind on the people, taking into account that the people, the working masses, are not only those who carry out directives, but, above all, those creative forces which enrich and develop the orientations of the Party. This idea has been synthetized best by Comrade Enver when he pointed out that «the masses build socialism, the Party makes them conscious».

The enhancement of the role of the masses is closely linked with the encour-

agement of their initiative and the creation of conditions for the broad development of this initiative. The bureaucratic and technocratic tendencies to standardize and centralize everything alienate the masses from creative activity and inhibits their initiative. They violate our socialist democracy, so they are not and must not be in the style of our Party. The communists, the organizations and committees of the Party must bear this well in mind.

In our country, in the conditions of the people's state power, socialist democracy has been developed on a broad scale. Our people have never been as free and independent as they are today. Every citizen of the country is assured under the law and guaranteed in practice the right to work, to education, to state care for his health, national equality, etc. Our people themselves discuss and decide on the plans of the economic and cultural development of the country, elect their representatives to the organs of state power and build and defend their own future. This is an indisputable reality which is also the main factor of the moral-political unity of our people.

Is there room for improvement in this

field so that the role, the initiative and participation of the masses in the socialist construction be enhanced? It would be neither correct nor dialectical were we to assert that everything responds to the requirements of the time. For this reason, the problems which have to do with the revolutionization of the life of the Party and the cadres, with the struggle against bureaucracy and alien manifestations, with the strengthening of the role of the masses and their control, and with the struggle against despotism, arrogance and formalism are always on the order of the day.

Rigidity and narrowness in these fields have dangerous consequences. They foster the administrative methods of management, leaving out the masses and their creative thinking. In such conditions there is room for careerists, despots, bureaucrats and incompetents, who constitute a contingent which can become extremely dangerous for the fate of socialism, which can easily be manipulated by the ideology of the revisionists, a contingent which, with its tendency to show that it has power, atrophies and paralyzes the creative ability and the role of the working people in the economy, culture, poli-

tics and defence. Administrative methods of leadership enable individual cadres and even leading organs to escape from the control of the Party, the control of the working class and the masses.

The struggle against such phenomena and the struggle to enhance the role of the masses are linked directly with the strengthening of our social order, the strengthening of our socialist democracy.

In the world today the bourgeoisie is striving to take the banner of the struggle for democracy and human rights into its own hands. Indeed, it seeks to present its own norms and concepts about democracy and human rights as the only yardstick and criterion of the truth on these matters. This diabolical tactic of capitalism in order to impose its standards, which has found support among the revisionists as well, in fact, serves reaction as a way for ideological diversion and interference in the internal affairs of others.

In reality our democracy is beyond any comparison with bourgeois democracy; similarly, human rights in our country are beyond any comparison with those formal rights which the worker or peasant has in the capitalist countries. Democracy

and human rights and respect for them are attributes of socialism, are the content and essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the power of the people, and not the power of the bourgeoisie, which in its essence and content has exploitation, oppression of and injustice towards the masses of the people.

Precisely because democracy is a fundamental principle of socialism, we must develop and perfect it continually. The encouragement of the initiative and the strengthening of the control of the masses, their active participation in the discussion of every problem which has to do with the progress of the country and the application of the line of the Party causes problems for and upsets only bureaucrats, people who want to establish authority through orders and imposition, but the enhancement of the role of the masses and their active participation in the construction of the country is good for socialism.

Comrade Enver has pointed out that one of the important factors for the birth of revisionism in the Soviet Union was bureaucracy, the indifference and passivity of officials, the apparatchiki, who

had the slogan «znayet nachalstvo»* on the tip of their tongues! It behoves the Party to reflect more deeply on the concrete circumstances which foster these phenomena and how they should be combated. But one thing is quite clear: the struggle against bureaucracy must be continued. In connection with this, it is the duty of the organs and organizations of the Party to go back again and again to the documents of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha on this question. In particular, they must study and reread his speech in Mat in 1972 and his speech to the cadres in Gjirokastra in 1978. These speeches contain many ideas which must be thoroughly analyzed to improve the existing mechanisms and create new ones, and there are questions which must be re-emphasized and solved with determination. One of them is the problem of control by the workers and control in general. Without strengthening control, the actions of bureaucrats and careerists that create a gulf between the people and the state cannot be checked. Not for one minute must we forget Comrade Enver's teaching: if the Party in its

* The leadership knows (Russian in the original).

leading organs prefers commandeering methods, this gives rise to conformism and opportunism at the grass-roots.

Our socialist society has advanced greatly, the economy and culture have grown and developed rapidly, the level of the cadres and the consciousness of the working people have been raised. It is a great satisfaction to hear the cooperativists on television or directly in free meetings. They speak without any hesitation about production, the cost, expenditure, supplies, the brigade leader, the management of the cooperative, etc. In the work centres, too, the working class speaks openly and with responsibility. But is it possible for the voice of the masses to be more effective? Because there are more than a few cases of damage and misuse, absenteeism and failure to fulfil norms, breaches of discipline and favouritism. Who does these things? Cooperativists, workers and other unformed working people do them, but they also come about through the weakening of work and laxity of brigade leaders and directors of factories, managers and others. In these conditions, can we say that the organizations of the Party, trade-unions,

or the organs of control are doing their work well? What sort of communists and what workers' organizations are those of the «Ali Kelmendi» Combine, the Cigarette Factory in Durrës, the Meat Combine in Tirana, and elsewhere, where products and raw materials are stolen, where there are misuses and ugly manifestations of favouritism and indiscipline?

Without arousing the masses, with the working class at the head of them, without giving them possibilities and prerogatives to act, without their properly exercising the right they have to revoke or dismiss anyone who breaches the norms and does not perform his tasks, whether he is a brigade leader or a high cadre, regardless of which organism has appointed him, these problems cannot be solved. All the cadres without exception must feel that they are subordinate to the masses of cooperativists, workers and other working people, who assess the performance of cadres. Therefore, they must try to be on good terms with the working masses, on the basis of their conscientious work, and not just with the organs and «comrades» above them!

The organizations of the Party must not close their eyes to certain phenomena

which can be seen: the state and party apparatuses have been inflated with salary employees. Many specialists have been drawn from the sphere of production. The worst of it is that, in many cases, in the jobs which they have gone to, they are not engaged in the solution of weighty problems, but in general and frequently academic studies. Such a situation should no longer be permitted.

The Party has continually stressed that the communists should always be in the forefront of the work. But is this so in practice? The organizations of the Party must reflect deeply on the fact that there are many communists with fixed salaries in the agricultural cooperatives, in the economic enterprises, and the state apparatuses. This is not in accord with the spirit of militancy which the Party demands from its members.

In his speech in Mat, Comrade Enver deals forcefully with the question of the ratio of communists to non-party people in the organs of state power and in leading positions. As early as 1972, he presented the question that most of them should not be party members. Today, almost 20 years later, when the political and economic situation is even stronger, when the

overwhelming bulk of the population has been born in the epoch of socialism, and brought up and educated from the cradle with the teachings of the Party, there is no reason why his being a party member or not should influence the appointment of the cadre to a position. Any post, even that of the minister, the military commander, or the diplomat, even a post in the leading organs of the state can be trusted to a son or daughter of the people, irrespective of whether or not he or she is a member of the Party, provided only he or she is honest, loyal to the cause of the Homeland and socialism, capable and cultured. And the absolute majority of the cadres are like this. Then, what is required? More energetic activity is required from the organs of the Party, which should base themselves more firmly on the opinion of the masses in the appointment of cadres and abandon some regulations and staff appointments which in many cases are unnecessary, replacing them with competitions for the acceptance of people in certain sectors and categories of work. The solution of these questions automatically helps to combat the tendencies which may be displayed by some unformed individuals who regard admis-

sion to the Party as a way to make a career and to gain a post of responsibility.

The struggle against bureaucracy and the strengthening of socialist democracy require the establishment of a correct relationship between the elected organs and their apparatuses. The tendency of party and state apparatuses is to monopolize the work, to exceed their role and functions, pushing aside the elected organs. It seems to me that this occurs because the elected organs have left them many competences.

It is known that the apparatuses do not have the right to make policy decisions. They are organisms to assist the elected organs in detailing directives and checking up on the application of decisions, to study different problems and to make proposals and suggestions for their solution. Only the elected leadership has the right to take decisions. However, on the most vital needs of the people such as employment, housing, schooling, qualification, etc., it is not unusual for the section heads or other workers of the executive organs to decide. The problem is not put forward so that the executive organs are exempted from their rights.

The thing is that the elected organs, the councillors and the deputies have full powers, and we must make this felt everywhere. This makes our socialist democracy more effective and creates conditions for the masses, both directly and through their elected representatives, to exercise control and guarantee the proper application of laws and respect for socialist norms.

The growth of the active role of the masses in strengthening the people's state power is reflected, too, in the democratic elections, which in our country are universal, direct and without any limitation for any citizen who has reached 18 years of age. In our system, the candidature for a councillor or a deputy is not put forward by the interested person, as it occurs in the capitalist countries, but is proposed by the masses at meetings of the Democratic Front, in precincts or villages. This is very democratic, because it gives the people the possibility to reject a candidate who does not enjoy the trust of the masses before they go to the polls.

Nevertheless, the mechanism of the electoral system could be improved to further strengthen the role and control of the masses. In the election of the coun-

cillors and people's judges this year, proposals for candidates were presented directly by the organizations of the masses, the youth, the women, the trade-unions and veterans, and after a broad popular discussion in the organizations of the Democratic Front more than one candidate was proposed for each seat, and this was a good thing. It created conditions for a better selection of candidatures. Could this procedure be improved? Could it be applied to the elections in the Party, too, beginning from those in the basic party organizations and their bureaus? Would it not assist in the preparation of each communist as a leader if the term for the re-election of secretaries of party basic organizations and those of bureaus were limited, say, to no more than to 4 to 5 years, as Comrade Lenka said in the report she delivered?

All these and other questions must be carefully studied by the Party; the question of staff appointments and competences must be examined, just as the question of the role of commissions of people's councils and the People's Assembly, the question of enhancing the role of the organizations of the masses and, especially,

of the Democratic Front, and so on, must be studied. The problem is that the best and most capable individuals, those who enjoy the respect and love of the people, should be elected to the organs of the Party and the state, so that the working masses should use to the full their right to exercise power and have their activity under control.

In the struggle for the construction of socialism, each organization and each communist must be militant. Today the Party is faced with many new problems, some difficult, others less so, which require appropriate solutions. Such questions emerge in the field of economic development, in foreign relations, in the fields of defence, education, literature, culture, etc. Communist militancy is reflected in the efforts each organization and each communist makes to fulfil and overfulfil the targets, in their active attitude to find ways to overcome problems which emerge and in the struggle against difficulties, against taking things easy and passively.

More must be demanded from the basic organizations and the communists in every field of social activity. Let us take the class struggle. This phenomenon exists

in the most various forms. The Party has said this and proved it many times, and practice has confirmed and confirms it every day. The class struggle is reflected in foreign relations, just as it is reflected within the country in a whole range of social activities. Here I am not referring to the class enemy physically only, but to alien class concepts, incorrect interpretations of various phenomena, the influence of foreign ideology, the underestimation of the imperialist and revisionist encirclement and the danger which it can present to socialism. It is not rare for these manifestations to affect our people, who either underestimate the danger of the influence of alien ideologies, or don't see it at all.

Communist militancy is expressed in the clear and active stands the basic organizations and the communists ought to take in ideology. No concession must be made to the bourgeois ideology in any field, in politics, in art, in culture or in economic relations. No concessions must be made to the religious ideology. We take this stand not only as convinced atheists, but also to defend our unity as a people, who, through the centuries, have suffered from the divisions and splits which the

churches and mosques have inspired. We must make no concessions to alien manifestations which are contrary to our socialist morality, our customs and national characteristics.

All these things require the raising of the ideo-political level of the communists, but, above all, require resolute struggle against indifference and passivity which are diseases dangerous to socialism. At all times the communists and cadres must be concerned about the accomplishment of tasks, must be ambitious in the revolutionary sense of the word in order to reach new frontiers. He who responds to his duty with honour and ability deserves the title of communist. He who remains indifferent when he sees that the line of the Party and the interests of socialism are damaged, he who flinches before difficulties and obstacles, he who tries to secure favours for himself abusing the title of communist, is not needed in the Party.

The creative abilities of the Party and communist militancy should be displayed more than ever at the present time when we ought to give new impulses to the all-round development of our society. In par-

ticular, they must be expressed in connection with such a key problem as the strengthening of the economy, because the continuous improvement of the life of the people which constitutes the main aim of the Party is linked with this. I am not going to dwell on the numerous questions which have emerged in this field. Here I shall simply express some ideas about the social productivity of labour.

If the social productivity of labour were to be judged by comparing its present level with that of the earliest post-liberation years, the conclusion would be very positive. What took a year to be produced at that time is now produced only within 3 or 4 days. But what is the level of the productivity of labour in comparison with the possibilities of the present development level of production? It must be said that it is low, that it does not respond to the demands of the time and, especially, to those of the future. At present, the productivity of labour in some sectors creates minimum resources for the extended reproduction. This is a matter which causes concern. We must not forget Lenin's statement that, in the final analysis, the level of the social productivity of

labour will be the gauge of the superiority of one or the other social order.

Why is the situation like this in our country? Is there something in the mechanism of the organization or administration of affairs which hinders the rise in productivity? If so, of what nature is this obstacle: material or moral, objective or subjective? And, more important, how should this key problem of our development be overcome? That is a major question which requires study, but, especially, it requires the finding of solutions in conformity with our conditions of development and our ideological principles.

Apart from the need for improvement in the utilization of equipment, it is known that in our present conditions it is the work of man, his level of consciousness and qualification, which is decisive in raising productivity. Are there problems which should be examined from this stand-point? The task of the Party and the state and study organs is to examine them with competence, in a creative spirit and with revolutionary militancy.

There is need, first of all, to step up the efforts for the education of the working people to raise their consciousness. Here, too, the organizations of the

Party, the trade-unions, the state and all the organizations of the masses have major tasks. They must seriously re-examine the work they are doing, because there are monotony, dry moralization, slogans and formalism, which are out of date. These criticisms apply both to the forms of education and the qualification courses, to forms of figurative agitation and socialist emulation, to the propaganda by word of mouth and through the press and television.

But is this in itself sufficient? Despite the exceptionally great importance of consciousness, and I stress that the work of the Party must radically be improved in this direction, too, it cannot be expected that the productivity of labour reaches the qualitative levels which modern production requires through consciousness alone. Measures are also required in the field of the administration and organization of production. In this direction, is there a need for the improvement of various mechanisms and levers which link the remuneration of workers more closely with production, which make the workers, specialists or managers more interested in raising the productivity and quality of the work?

In capitalist society, competition, the danger of bankruptcy and insecurity exert powerful pressure both on the worker and on the employer. The mechanism of bourgeois economy is blind and merciless. In socialism, the opposite is the case. In our society there is no anxiety about the future, but whereas each individual worker benefits directly from its superiority, the shortcomings and difficulties, which are reflected in the decline of the productivity of labour and the effectiveness of production of enterprises, are unloaded on society as a whole. The individual feels them in an indirect way. For this reason, it is necessary to study the implementation of certain changes in our economic mechanism, which will ensure the rights and the direct joint responsibility of the society, the collective, the group or the individual for the fate of production.

The harmonization of the general interests of society with those of the individual is one of the most difficult problems of socialism. The bad example of the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries proves this. There they were not harmonized so as to make the working class, the peasantry and the broad working masses interested in increasing

production. In those countries, the concern was to create favours for bureaucratic apparatuses, some strata of the intelligentsia, the military castes, etc., and this has led to great differentiations and social conflicts, on the one hand, and the encouragement of passivity and indifference, on the other.

A major problem which is linked with the level of the productivity of labour is the strengthening of discipline. I am referring both to technical and scientific discipline, and to the one which is called labour discipline. In the state enterprises, not to mention the administrations, there is a great deal of absenteeism, meanwhile almost one third of the workers do not fulfil their norms. This damages production as a whole, especially there where the processes of work are in a chain. Is this something to examine in the Labour Code, which today envisages that the worker who absents himself without reason has only his pay for the day or the hours he was absent deduced? Even in the case when the worker commits some grave breach of discipline, if after many troubles, protests and court sessions he is dismissed from his job, he goes to another

enterprise without any real harm. Who needs this big-heartedness? Is the worker protected by damaging socialism?! Why should society suffer from the carelessness and absenteeism of an individual? Would it not be fair that such a person, whether a worker, a specialist, or a cadre, if he is dismissed for incompetence, grave breaches of discipline or misuse of his position, goes to work in another place and, for a given time, with a reduced wage?

In our country the opinion prevails that the state leaves no one unemployed. This is true, but we should not allow the lazy, the careless and the shirkers to benefit from this superiority of socialism. Let them remain jobless; they bring the evil on themselves. In the university, according to the regulation, if the student is absent without reason for 24 hours of lessons, he is expelled from school for one year. Is this fault graver than that of a worker who leaves his job in the chromium mine, in construction, in the factory or elsewhere, in order to stay three, four or five days at the wedding of his cousin in the village?

There are more than a few cases in which machines and production lines are

imported, but take years to be put to work. Indeed, campaigns are undertaken for this purpose. Our press calls them revolutionary initiatives and praises them. How do these anomalies come about? Who creates them? Do they speak of financial discipline, order, good management and communist responsibility, or of the opposite? Should this matter be left only to the sphere of consciousness? Do not these things and others like them show a lack or non-proper functioning of the mechanisms of economic and financial control over the machines which are imported and the assets which enterprises have at their disposal? Is there not room to study and issue additional regulations about the role of the bank and financial discipline, while stressing the importance of the economic aspect and control by means of money?

These problems are vital for the development of our economy. It is precisely here that the creative, mobilizing and organizing force of the Party must be reflected. To solve these problems, the organs and the organizations of the Party must set innovative thought in motion, encourage the vanguard workers, and activate the organizations of the masses, the scientific institutions, and so on. The mili-

tancy of each cadre and communist and their revolutionary spirit must be expressed in this great work, in the struggle to raise productivity and strengthen discipline.

We must call for militancy and the spirit of initiative and encourage them strongly, also, in the development of the internal life of the basic organizations of the Party. The party meetings must always be militant, free from formality and officialdom. In the party organization, all are and must be equal without any distinction. Any inferiority complex or feeling of superiority, any manifestation of hierarchy, anything which inhibits the free expression of opinion and debate in them must be condemned and rejected.

Some days ago I received a letter from a woman communist who complained that one of the secretaries of the Party Committee of the Lezha District had made what she considered an improper suggestion in connection with the attitude the meeting of the basic organization was supposed to adopt about the mistake of a communist. From this letter one question attracted my attention: why is it necessary for the secretary of a party com-

mittee to summon a secretary of a basic organization and suggest what attitude it must take on the mistake of this or that communist? Is the basic organization not able of judging such a thing? Why this distrust towards the base? Who needs this kind of paternalism?

The problem becomes even more serious when intervention on such matters has to do with cadres, with directors, as was the case referred to in the letter I mentioned. I am not saying that the concrete case is one of favouritism, or that the writer of the letter is right. The question is: why should not the cadres, too, be subject to the same rules as any communist, so that when they make mistakes, the matter is discussed and decided in the basic organization? As I said above, the respective organs have the right to make appointments, but when it comes to judging the work of the cadres, to taking disciplinary measures and to revoking or dismissing cadres of any rank when they make a mistake, the collective and the basic organization also have rights. It is important that this be understood properly, so that each cadre or leader tries to win the respect of the collective and the people by working with a high level

of consciousness, and does not strive to be on good terms only with the committee and the organ which has appointed him, thinking that, thus, he is under their protection.

The internal life of the Party, the militant spirit and debate are frequently weakened not only by intervention from above, but also by confounding the notion of unity with that of unanimity. Many comrades think mistakenly that if they do not vote unanimously for a communist or a cadre on a problem or stand, this is a breach of unity. No, comrades, this is not so. Unity is a notion with a political and ideological content and has to do with the line and the principles. We have unity of opinions and actions for the cause of socialism, the general interest, the principle of remuneration according to the work done, the independence of the Homeland, and reliance on our own forces, and other such problems of principle. But it is another matter that, in the struggle to achieve these aims and to apply these principles, there will be a variety of opinions, a number of proposals for solutions, and complex measures, which support one another, will be taken. The question of unanimity emerges here. It may not result on an

absolute scale in every concrete case on which discussions are held, opinions are exchanged, studies are carried out and decisions taken. This expresses and should express the internal democracy, the spirit of initiative, the freedom of opinion and action to put the socialist ideals into practice.

In essence, to clearly distinguish the concept of unity from that of unanimity means to distinguish what is a matter of principle from what is not so, to distinguish what has to do with the laws from that which has to do with the concrete measures and the ways to put into practice the demands of the laws. This makes the work of the Party more flexible and gives logic to its activity.

An ideological homogeneity has long been created and is ceaselessly intensified in our country. We must use this great achievement of our social order to develop our socialist democracy further in all fields of social activity. In these conditions, debate and confrontation of opinions, solutions, variants and practices is completely normal. Amongst us there is no social basis for these things to assume the form of a social antagonism. On the contrary, they develop in line with the interests

of our socialist society and express our common efforts for socialism and progress.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has said:

*«At various meetings it is noticed that some leading comrades are afraid of discussions 'which are out of tune', which go beyond the stereotyped formulas. They think that everything ought to proceed smoothly. The result of such a method is that the opposing opinions are expressed outside the meeting. In this case, the alarm is sounded about something which is said to have been understood 'theoretically', but which, in fact, has been neither understood nor applied correctly.»**

He continues:

«Listen how neatly and correctly an engineering worker has expressed this dialectical law of the clash of opinions, as a great motive force of our society: 'We mechanics like these frictions,' he said, 'because when two metals are rubbed together they

* Enver Hoxha, *Selected Works*, vol. 4, p. 618.

produce heat which is transformed into mechanical energy. Similarly, with ideas: the more ideas are thrashed out, the more heat and energy they will generate, and, as a consequence, production and the well-being of the workers will go ahead'.»*

Comrade Enver concludes:

*«Just from the one example I mentioned we ought to think: why should we be afraid of discussion, of the clash of ideas, why should we be afraid of criticism and why should we confine self-criticism to a few personal things, and should not develop it on a still wider scale. Discussion and criticism does not, in any way, lower the authority of the institution or department, but stirs them up to resolve the contradictions that emerge in life, correctly and promptly.»***

The proper development of debate and confrontation requires noticeable progress

* Enver Hoxha, *Selected Works*, vol. 4, p. 619.

** *Ibidem*, p. 619.

in the work of the Party, especially in its activity of propaganda and education. It is essential to break away from the stereotypes, the repetition of known truths, ready-made phrases, dogmatism and metaphysics which atrophy thinking, do not see society in movement and do not follow the process of development in its dialectics. We need more scientific treatment of the problems we encounter in the objective reality, more critical analysis and more creative thinking. In our state and party schools, in the study institutes, in the forms of education and in the press, and in the work with the masses we need to dwell deeper on the present ideological, political, economic and social phenomena; we need analyses based on the present-day developments and courage to face up to the problems which emerge from them.

In particular, increased care for the youth and improved educational work with them is required. This is a task not only for the Labour Youth Union of Albania, but above all, for the organizations of the Party and the state organs, for the school and the cultural institutions. We must not forget that the absolute majority of our population is under 30 years of age.

This mass has its own demands and numerous interests which result from its age, but also from its cultural level which is continually rising.

The youth of our country are ideologically pure, ardently patriotic and militant for socialism, intelligent and active. They live with the problems of the country and are outstanding in the work to solve them. From this stand-point, those forms of work which, in essence, are limited to some general moralizations about how they ought to behave, what they should do and what they should not do at work, in school and in the street must be considered paternalistic and outdated. Is it not the time for the youth organization and the Party to think about and find appropriate forms of work in order to respond to the broad interests of the youth on the whole, and to particular sections of them, in order to encourage their initiative and self-action and their creative capacities?

The youth are the future of the Homeland. They will carry socialism forward. Therefore, the duty of the Party is to educate a youth knowledgeable from every stand-point, a sincere, courageous and skilful youth, who at all times will defend

the country and socialism, and consequently cope with the difficulties and obstacles. The secretaries of the Party, from the highest organs down to the base, must make contact with the young men and women in forms as unofficial as possible, must explain to them the situations we are going through and the problems the Party is solving, report to them, seek their opinion and consult them. The young men and women must not be treated as children, but as fighters, indeed, as the most outstanding fighters, because that is what they are.

Today the youth have numerous requirements in regard to art, culture, literature, sports, etc. Therefore, the Party and the respective organizations must take care to ensure them more publications, more artistic performances, more songs, more sports activities, etc. The youth have very warmly welcomed a number of literary works by our outstanding writers, some «New Albania» Film-studio productions, some translations of famous authors of world literature, the series of concerts of folk songs, the exciting matches of our junior girl volleyball players, who are champions of the Balkans, etc. Hence, they appreciate quality and, indeed, seek to

measure their strength with the world. Why should we consider a normal duty the demand that we measure our strength with the world in production, and not consider it so also in the other spheres? A sports complex was built in Tirana. This was a very good thing. But the needs of the youth for recreation are not fulfilled just with this. Would it not be better if, in a number of districts, instead of spending money on fountains which have no beauty, do something for the youth, build swimming pools, sports grounds and reading-rooms, encourage alpinism, culture, and so on? This, too, is work for the organizations and organs of the Party.

Strengthening the leading role of the Party and communist militancy are closely connected with admissions to the Party and the quality of communists. This was treated in the report, so I will not expand on this question. I want only to stress that we should always bear in mind that our Party is a party of the working class. This is determined not only by its proletarian ideology, but also by its social composition. For this purpose, the Central Committee has taken special decisions to estab-

lish such ratios of admissions as to maintain in its structure the priority of worker communists, as regards their social status and origin. This is correct and should be implemented in the future, too. Rules have been set also about the age of the candidates to membership.

The quality of the people admitted to the Party has fundamental importance, as the 9th Congress, also, has pointed out. Constant care must be devoted to this problem. We must always maintain the Party pure. And it remains pure if all its members are dedicated fighters for the cause of the people and put the interests of society above everything. Every party member, from the rank-and-file communist to the member of the Central Committee, should clearly know that people judge the Party from the behaviour and stand of the communists: whether they are correct and honest in life, set the example at work and in society, are modest, have well-behaved, well-educated and unpretentious families and children, etc., etc.

Some problems have emerged over admissions from among the ranks of the intellectuals in production, education and culture, science, etc., as well as over the age of those admitted. Certainly, these prob-

lems should be studied, because conditions have changed and, as a consequence, some rules must be changed, too. For example, is it right that, in reckoning the age of admissions to the Party, we should take into account its whole membership, including the pensioners? Would it not be more appropriate if, in admitting people to the Party, we should reckon the average age of the Party without including pensioners? They have given much to the Party and will continue to do so to the extent of their possibilities, and they will keep high the name of the communist as long as they live. The active strength of the Party, however, will be made up by those communists who work in production, in work centres, in the countryside and at various institutions. Here we need our Party to be young, active and dynamic.

Apart from workers and cooperativists, other working people, who come under the category of employees, are also admitted to the Party. Here are included workers of state and economic administration, regardless of their level of education: watchmen and warehouse keepers, academics and officers, teachers, doctors, controllers and others. Is there room for corrections here? I think there is. The Party is inte-

rested in having in its ranks more outstanding men of our intelligentsia, people engaged in creative activities, doctors, engineers, scholars, economists, teachers and others, and less watchmen and warehouse keepers or office employees. Whether this problem will be dealt with by making the present denominations more precise, or in some other way, this should be studied. However, one thing must be emphasized: those whom we consider intellectuals today are the sons and daughters of the people; they are workers, peasants, officers, employees, and fighters for socialism, for which all of them have fought and been consistently working for 45 years. These are the intellectuals who have been created, raised and educated by the Party and according to its teachings.

The effectiveness of the work of the Party calls for the further strengthening of the role of the basic organization, because the foundations of the whole of our society lie there, among the communists, the workers and peasants. All problems are coped with and all directives implemented only if the communists and the mass of the people struggle to this end. If the basic organization does not discuss these problems and if it does not decide

what should be done about them and the ways of dealing with them, we cannot solve either the problem of raising the social productivity of labour, or that of strengthening discipline, developing agriculture, strengthening small herds and plots, improving education, and so on. Irregularities, injustices and favouritism cannot be combated if the basic organizations and the working masses do not analyze and do not decide for themselves about these problems. All the others, any committee, any commission, any organ, be it even the Central Committee of the Party, are more liable to err on these problems than the base.

Comrades,

The strength of our Party of Labour and its health are the basis of the vitality and continuity of socialism in Albania. By working to enhance the leading role of the Party and to strengthen the militant character of its activity, we actually impart a fresh impulse to our economic and social development on the road of socialism according to the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, prepare ourselves better for

the implementation of the new plans the Party is working out for the 9th Five-year Plan, and create the conditions for increasing the prosperity of the people and the glory of our socialist Homeland.

Long live the Party of Labour of Albania!

Glory to triumphant Marxism-Leninism!